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PREFACE

More than ten years ago I dreamed of traveling in Liang Shan and penetrating into the "Lolo nation," called the Independent Lolo region by foreign writers. Since the Sino-Japanese War, I have traveled and taught in the provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan. So I have had the opportunity to observe firsthand the immense southwest hinterland of China. Last summer I went to investigate the Lolo area in Liang Shan, and my previous dream was realized.

The period of investigation lasted from July 2 to September 26, altogether 87 days. My student assistant Hu Liang-chen, the janitor of the school Old Fan, and I myself started from Ch'eng-tu. After we reached Lei-po we hired two interpreters, one named Wang Chü-sung and the other Hu Chan-yün, and also three black Lolo as headmen-protectors. These constituted the Frontier Inspection Team of Yenching University. We went westward to the Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan for field study. The details of this trip have been recounted in Appendix II [not translated] and need not be repeated here.

The name "Lolo" is not used frequently among the people themselves in Liang Shan. The Chinese in the frontier area call the Lolo "Man-tzu"; in their own conversation they call themselves "I-chia." Therefore Lolo, Man-tzu, and I-chia are different terms, but they refer to the same people.

This book is entitled Liang-shan I-chia. Liang Shan is a geographical area; the meaning of I-chia is twofold. In a broad sense it denotes the whole Lolo society, and in a restricted sense it denotes the Lolo family and clan organization. The first chapter of this book, "Regions," points out the geographical area covered by this inspection trip. Chapters 2 through 5 describe Lolo social structure from large social groups to smaller ones in a continuous sequence from clan, kinship, family, to marriage. Chapters 6 through 9 describe the various important aspects of Lolo life, such as the economy, social classes, clan feuds, and magic, all characteristic of this society.

Liang-shan I-chia is a field report based on the data collected personally by the author. The study is centered on the family and the clan, but it also touches upon other phases of

life related to the family and clan. Otherwise it would be just a general survey without being able to demonstrate in a penetrating way the contents of their life. I have also collected some data regarding Lolo physical anthropology, but because of statistical and technical difficulty they will have to be published in a separate paper in the near future. Besides these, there are some scriptures written in the Lolo language which need translation, and some personal biographies which need further editing [2] before they could be published.

The report on the trip to Liang Shan is now completed in its final form. I wish to take this chance to thank my many friends. First, I am most grateful to my former teacher, Dr. Wu Wen-tsao, for his wholehearted support and particularly for his effort to help me in this trip. Secondly, Professor Serge Elisséeff of Harvard University has personally encouraged me to undertake this field study. Also many famous professors in the department of anthropology at Harvard have kindly taught me and deeply impressed upon me the importance of strict scientific training. During the compilation of this study, I am indebted to Dr. Li Fang-kuei for the pronunciation of Lolo kinship terms. All the illustrations and figures were drawn by Mr. Chen Shu-yung, an assistant in the Department of Sociology at Yenching. I am also indebted to all my co-workers and friends in the frontier region, who have instructed and helped me.

Finally, the financial resources of this trip have come from three institutions: Chung-kuo K'ang-chien K'ên-chih Shê [China Society for Cultivation and Colonization during Wartime Reconstruction], the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Harvard-Yenching Institute. The author would like to use this opportunity to give them his personal thanks.

June 26, 1944, Yenching University, Ch'eng-tu. Szechwan.

131 still in the hands of the Lolo. It remains the main passage for the Lolo in Liang Shan to Sikang province. Even the communication line between Hsi-ch'ang and Chao-chüeh is sometimes under their control.

175 Towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty during the reign of
648 Emperor Kuang-hsü [1875-1907], because of the rebellions of the Lolo who occupied successively all the territories east of Huang-mao Kang, communication lines between the county seats and the towns were disrupted. Nevertheless, during that time the government still had a large number of troops in those areas and held quite a few villages and towns. For example, the area between Huang-lang and Lei-po was still Chinese territory without any disruption in communication. The other villages, such as San-ho K'ou, Yu-cha P'ing, Chung-shan P'ing, Lan-pa-tzu, Shan-leng Kang, Ma-ching-tzu, Hsi-su Chio, Hsiao-wu-chi, and I-tzu Ts'un, all remained in the hands of the Chinese. Although those villages could not be linked together, they still could help each other if something happened. Since the founding of the Republic of China the number of government troops stationed there has decreased and the Lolo have become stronger and more insubordinate. First, the Chinese lost Ch'ang-p'u-t'ien and so the communication line between Lei-po and Huang-lang was interrupted. Then Shan-leng Kang and Ma-ching-tzu were lost so that the western part of the city of Lei-po was threatened. With the loss of Yen-fêng Shan and Yu-cha P'ing, the road from Ma-pien to Ta-liang Shan was disconnected. Furthermore, the Chinese lost San-ho K'ou with the result that the connection between Ma-pien and O'pien was also disrupted. In 1937 the magistrate of Lei-po county, named Lo Mien-nan, was beaten to death by the Lolo at I-tzu Ts'un, but the government took no action against the rioters and since then its influence has further declined. So the Lolo have no fear of the government and have fomented more rebellions and disturbances in the last twenty years.

131 The Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan regions described
162 above cover about 900 li from Ma-pien county in the north to Chin-sha Chiang in the south, and about 600 li from Lei-po in the east to Chao-chüeh in the west. The population of this area, according to the author's estimate of the regions he has covered in the trip, includes approximately 200,000 Lolo.

● 121 Because of time limitations, the field team led by the author could not travel everywhere in Ta-liang and Hsiao-liang Shan; so we could only use the area of our inspection as the basis for research (see Map 3). From I-pin upstream

121 across the Chin-sha Chiang we reached directly Ping-i Ch'ang (west of Ping-shan), which is on the main road to the southwestern frontier of Szechwan. We did not see any Lolo on this
103 road. Ping-i Ch'ang was formerly known as Man-i Szu [the barbarians' sub-district], a name which is still used today. But although the name remains, it has lost its connotation because this whole area has been occupied by Han-Chinese.
800 Ping-i Ch'ang is located at the river junction between the Chung-tu Ho and the Chin-sha Chiang. About 3 li upstream is Shih-chio Ying, where the Hsi-ning Ho enters the Chin-sha Chiang. Sometimes when the water is high it can be reached by steamboats, and in ordinary times by wooden boats. It is the upstream terminus of the Chin-sha Chiang [6]. Therefore, Ping-i Ch'ang is the key of land and sea communications, the gateway to the west part of P'ing-shan , and also the main post from the hinterland to the border area. The city streets are built along the mountain and supported by large columns standing on hewn rocks. The floor of these houses is supported by wooden pillars, which sometimes are several tens of feet high so that water could not reach the roofs even at flood time.
439 Salt, clothes, and other goods imported from outside are all unloaded and transported by burden-carriers to frontier areas for trade with the Lolo. The Lolo use lump silver as their
[436] currency. The silver is weighed by ounces or in ingots, and can be exchanged at Ping-i Ch'ang. We can see that trade between the Han-Chinese and Lolo has already assumed great significance here.

133 Traveling about 50 li from Shih-chio Ying upstream on the Hsi-ning Ho, one reaches Hsia-ch'i. The Hsi-ning Ho originates from the eastern flank of Huang-mao Kang and runs across Lan-pa-tzu, Chung-shan P'ing, and Lo-san Ch'i of Lei-po county to Hsi-ning on the border of P'ing shan county. The whole course is more than 100 li. Another 85 li from Hsi-ning it reaches Hsia-ch'i.

439 Hsia-ch'i, located on the southern bank of the Hsi-ning Ho, is the largest town along the river with a population of about 4,000. In the town are stores and restaurants. The Lolo in both neighboring and far away districts all come here to trade. Not far away across the river is the boundary of Ma-pien county. The Lolo in Ma-pien also come here frequently. Further upstream on the Hsi-ning Ho from Hsia-
361 ch'i, all the villages and outposts on both banks of the river are Han-Chinese, while high up on the mountains are the Lolo. So this area is inhabited heterogeneously by the Han-Chinese and Lolo.

361 The I-ch'ê Ho flows downward from San-ho-i-ta to Niu-niu Pa,
487 whence it converges with the Lien-cha-nao Ho to empty into the
133 Mei-ku Ho. The latter runs southeast into the Liu-t'ung Ho, and thence eastward into the Chin-sha Chiang. The entire branch forms the main river system in Ta-liang Shan. The I-ch'ê Ho is said to have originated from the eastern flank of the mountains of Chi-erh-wa-chi south of Wa-hai, but so far it has not been proved by exploration. The eastern route from San-ho-i-ta northward to Wu-hai passes through Szu-tsu-i-ta and En-cha-wa-hsi, the entire distance being about 260 li. The western route starts from Jo-ku-yeh-ta east of Niu-niu Pa, and then goes northward to Wu-hai across Wu-erh-kuo, Hung-chi, and Chi-erh-wa-chi. The distance is about the same as the eastern route. As mentioned before, there are three routes from San-ho-i-ta eastward to Lei-po, the middle route being about 360 li. The road to Chao-chüeh starts southward from Pa-p'u and Nü-hung across the mountains; after leaving them it first goes eastward to Sheng-chi and then westward to Yeh-lu-na-ta. It is about 145 li from Yeh-lu-na-ta to Chao-chüeh. Therefore it is estimated that the entire distance from Chao-chüeh to San-ho-i-ta is not more than 250 li.

● 121 The author stayed at the San-ho-i-ta area for some time to make various kinds of investigations. Originally we planned to go from Sheng-chi [14] through La-mi to Lei-po, but because of a dispute among the headmen-protectors we finally decided to take the northern route back to Lei-po.

361 Going northeastward for 15 li from San-ho-i-ta, one
621 reaches Pu-ch'ien. Only a short distance up the slope from P'u-ch'ien is Ku-p'eng, a village inhabited heterogeneously by the black Lolo of the Li-ch'ü and Ên-cha branches and the white Lolo of the Ch'ê-pi branch. Another 30 li from here lies P'u-t'ao-i-ta. Up the slope is another village, P'u-t'ao-hai-tsê, of the Ên-cha branch. Thirty li east of P'i-t'ao-i-ta is T'ê-hsi, also translated in the Chinese as T'ien-hsi. It is the nearest village outside the mountains on the northern route to Huang-mao Kang. South of T'ê-hsi lies P'a-t'o; north of T'ê-hsi, Szu-tsu-i-ta. These villages which are linked with Ên-cha-wa-hsi about 100 li further north all belong to the territory of the Ên-cha branch.

487 From Tê-hsi eastward across Huang-mao Kang lies a
361 broad main road. After crossing Huang-mao Kang it goes downward through an old forest to Ta-ku Tui, about 60 li from T'ê-hsi. Ta-ku Tui is a level plain in the valley, about 10 li from east to west. It is a very fertile plain suitable for

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EXORCISM, A CUSTOM OF THE BLACK LOLO

The Lolo people are superstitious. Every time sickness or disaster befalls them, they believe that in this mysterious universe some evil spirits are at work, and the only recourse they have is to ask their Pai-mao [wizard priest] to chant liturgies for the extirpation of bad luck.

In the early summer of 1943 I was engaged in a research study of the Lolo language among the Black Lolo (Heh-I) at the Mou-lien district in Wu-ting, and had occasion to observe their customs and rituals in relation to the translation of the Lolo scriptures. This is because what is recorded in their scriptures is largely the gist of their customs and rituals. So in order to thoroughly understand the Lolo scriptures, it is necessary to become familiar with the customs of their tribe.

An exorcising ceremony was witnessed by me at Wan-teh village. The mistress of the house was a certain Mrs. An Hsiao-tseng, whose nephew had been wounded by bandits and was confined to bed. Although they had secured some herb medicine to be applied to the wounds, she would not believe that the medicine could heal the wounds, contending that they were the result of some evil influence. As long as the evil spirit remained the wounded person could not get well, and she begged leave of me to ask the Pai-mao, Chang Wen-yuan, who was translating the scriptures with me to perform exorcism for her. As I was eager to observe the rite I readily agreed.

Although it was only early summer, the weather was unbearably hot, as Wan-teh was a hollow plain surrounded by mountains and completely dried up for the lack of rainfall in many months. I went to the house after lunch with two Pai-mao, Chang Wen-yuan and Chang tzu-hsin, but the ritual lasted until the starlit night. The whole ceremony consisted of two